DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 362 025 FL 021 485

AUTHOR Faingold, Eduardo D.
TITLE The Development of the Definite Article from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese.
PUB DATE Jan 93
NOTE 35p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (67th, Los Angeles, CA, January 7-10, 1993).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Determiners (Languages); Diachronic Linguistics; Form Classes (Languages); *Grammar; *Latin; *Portuguese; *Romance Languages; Rumanian; *Spanish; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Demonstratives (Languages)

ABSTRACT

A study analyzed the emergence of the definite article in language history from classical Latin to vulgar Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian. It traces the grammaticalization of demonstratives into both nominative and accusative definite articles, both pre- and post-nominal. It is shown that based on documents from the fourth to sixth century, speakers mark with Latin demonstratives those noun phrases whose referents have a prominent role in discourse or are accessible to the speaker and hearer before as well as after the noun phrase. Also, as found in eighth-century documents, noun phrases that are prominent or accessible to speaker and hearer are preceded by Latin demonstratives, and in the 12th century and modern Romance languages, the definite article precedes those noun phrases that can be identified by the speaker or hearer, regardless of whether or not they play a prominent role in discourse. It is proposed that similarity between demonstratives and articles is not coincidental, but due to processes whereby old forms acquire new functions, including more abstract functions. Therefore, part of the system used for mapping perceptual space in the real world (e.g., demonstratives) also serves to map space in discourse. Contains 18 references. (MSE)

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ED 362 025

# The Development of the Definite Article from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese

1993 Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America
Los Angeles, California January 7-11,1993

Eduardo D. Faingold
State University of New York at Stony Brook

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Abstract

This paper studies the emergence of the definite article in language history from Classical Latin to Vulgar Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian. Definite articles are created anew from nominative and accusative demonstratives in the Romance languages. The use of demonstratives as a source for definite articles has been commonly characterized as a universal of language, since most languages seem to prefer this pathway of development. The development of the definite article is explained in terms of factors such as the function of demonstratives in discourse.

1 Introduction

It is well known that in the Romance, as well as in the Germanic, languages definite articles are created anew from (nominative, usually prenominal) demonstrative pronouns (Greenberg 1978, Lockwood 1968). Also, in emergent languages such as creoles (Holm 1988), as well as in language change in progress (Laury 1991), demonstratives are the source of definite articles. Thus, as I show in early work (Faingold 1992), the use of prenominal nominative demonstratives as a source of definite articles can be characterized as a universal of language, since most languages seem to prefer this pathway of development. In this paper I show that other pathways are also possible, though statistically less likely. In certain cases, the source of the definite article can be the accusative; in Rumanian the definite article is placed after, rather than before, the noun. In this paper I show that the development of definite article from Latin to Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian can be explained in terms of factors such as the function of demonstratives in discourse (Laury 1991, 1992, Meillet 1926). Using texts in Vulgar Latin from a period covering eight centuries, I trace the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles in Vulgar Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian (see, further, Heine et al 1991, Traugott & Heine 1991). Demonstratives are reanalyzed as markers of identifiability--definite articles--as a result of universal processes of language change (Faingold 1992). In Rumanian the definite article is a demonstrative in post-nominal position.

2 The Data: From Classical Latin to the Romance Languages.

Classical Latin was the Latin spoken and written by literate people throughout the Roman world and co-existed with a coloquial Latin spoken by those who did not know or chose to disregard the rules set by classical writers. Non-classical or vulgar forms appear by the late fourth century in written documents. These present at first slight deviations from the classical rules; by the fifth century non-classical forms increase drastically without changing Classical Latin so as to make it unintelligible to the masses (see Muller 1970, Muller & Taylor 1932).

By the middle of the sixth century, as a result of religious changes and the barbarian invasions, a different form of Latin with a distinct orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax arose from Classical Latin--Vulgar Latin. In the late eight century, as a result of the restoration of the classical rules following the Edicts of Charlemagne, texts written in Vulgar Latin were corrected according with the rules set by classical Roman writers. Vulgar Latin, the language written for the masses by men lacking classical training, disappears or rather becomes Romance by the beginning of the ninth century. A new form of Latin modeled after the classical Roman and Christian writers is now used for literary and religious writings--Medieval Latin. However, not all writers of Medieval Latin follow the grammatical rules set by the classical Roman model (see Muller 1970, Strecker 1957).

Thus, before Charlemagne's reform, Vulgar Latin was the spoken and written language of Christian Romans; after the restoration, literate writers wrote one language, Medieval Latin, and spoke

another, Romance.

This article analyzes six Vulgar Latin documents: (i) four in Vulgar Latin (fourth or sixth century) from Sylvia's Peregrinatio ad Loca Santa (compiled and translated by Bernard 1971: 11-136), as follows: (a) The Story of Abgar, (b) Epiphany, (c) Thursday before Easter, and (d) Good Friday; (ii) one in Vulgar Latin (mid-eight century)--Chrodegangus' De Vestimenta Clericorum (compiled by Muller & Taylor 1932: 243-244); and (iii) a document in Vulgar Latin written in Spain (twelfth century): El Abad de San Millan Cambia unas Haciendas con Lope Iñique - A Transaction in Real Estate (compiled by Muller & Taylor 1932: 28). Documents (ii) and (iii) above were translated by the present writer.

3 Demonstratives and indefinite articles in Latin and the Romance Languages

As I have shown in earlier work (Faingold 1992), in language history, as well as in creolization and other emergent systems, definite articles are in most cases not borrowed from the superstrate languages. Rather, these seem to have been created anew from demonstratives. In this section I describe the historical development of the definite article from Classical and Vulgar Latin to Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian.

In Spanish, as in other Romance and Germanic languages, the article serves to distinguish between definite and indefinite noun phrases. Examples from Spanish are (1a) and (1b) respectively.

(1a) Juan escribió la carta. 'John wrote the letter'

(1b) Juan escribió una carta. 'John wrote a letter'

The presence of the definite article la 'the' in (1a) makes clear that the speaker assumes that the hearer knows which letter he is referring to, or at least he or she can identify it. In (1b) this inference is not made.

As is well known, Classical Latin does not have an article. An example is (2).

(2) mater Catonis 'the mother of Caton'

In itself, mater can mean both 'a mother' or 'the mother' but in this case the genitive case serves to mark definiteness.

3.1 Criteria for establising correspondences between Latin demonstratives and Romance articles

This section presents relevant criteria for identifying emergent Romance articles corresponding to Latin demonstratives. Assignment of correspondences is not arbitrary but the result of logically independent tests. Criteria of four types apply: (1) statistical, (2) structural, (3) functional, and (4) naturalness. Table 1 below displays the relevant criteria.

insert Table 1

(1) Statistical: this criteria is concerned with (a) a synchronic increase in text frequency of the emergent article. For example, in the paragraph (1) below (Sylvia's "The Story of Abgar" - forth to sixth century), I have counted eight Latin demonstratives corresponding to Vulgar Latin emergent articles (Bernard 1971: 37, 102).

(1) In ea ergo die et in ea hora, qua auertarent Persae aquam,
On the day and the hour in which the Persians diverted the water

statim hii fontes, quos uides in eo loco, iusso Dei a semel
the fountains which you see in this place at the command of god

eruperunt ex ea die hi fontes usque in hodie permanent hic gratia
burst forth all at once, and from that day to this they continue by

Dei. Illa autem aqua, quam Persae auerteran, ita siecata est in ea
the grace of God but the water which the Persian diverted was dried

hora, ut nec ipsi haberent uel una die quod biberent (...)
out in that hour, so that the besiegers had nothing to drink

This criterion is further concerned with (b) a diachronic increase in frequency of the emergent articles. By the eighth century the use of Latin demonstratives as definite articles increases radically: In Chrodegangus' "De Vestimenta Clericorum", nearly every definite NP is preceded by an emergent article.

Quite arbitrarily, only those articles which appear at least twice in the text are counted as cases of grammaticalization (see Muller & Taylor 1932: 243-244).

(2) Structural criteria concerns (i) phonological weakening, including (a) phonetical shortening (e.g. Latin illa > Sp. la 'the'), (b) loss of stress (e.g. Latin stressed demonstratives change to unstressed articles in Romance); and (ii) location, including (most frequently) (a) pronominal (e.g. VL illa acqua 'the water'), and (more rarely) (b) postnominal position (e.g VL epistolam ipsam 'the letter').

(3) Functional: This criterion concerns types of NPs which are potential carriers of definite articles, including: (a) prominent NPs (i.e. central to the narrative), and (b) accessible NPs (by prior mention) (see further discussion in Section 4).

(4) Naturalness is concerned with (i) Greenberg's (1985) iconicity principle mapping perceptual space into discourse (i.e. Latin structures corresponding to emergent Romance articles are almost always distance demonstratives); and (ii) following markedness principles, the least marked Latin demonstratives (i.e. monosyllabic nominatives) are the most likely to correspond to Romance definite articles (see, further, Faingold 1993, Keenan 1987). In certain cases, more marked accusatives can correspond to Romance structures, since a missanalysis occurs due to the structural similarity between certain Latin nominatives and

accusatives (e.g. nom. fem. sing. illa, ipsa vs acc. neut. pl. illa, ipsa). Less marked structures are usually more widely distributed than more marked structures (Faingold 1992b). In this paper, statistics are used as a discovery procedure, rather than as an absolute criteria. The reason is that in certain cases markedness values conflict with statistical distributions (see, further, Faingold 1992b). Table 2 presents a statistical analysis of Vulgar Latin emergent articles.

insert Table 2

In Table 2.1 Vulgar Latin demonstratives functioning as articles correspond to less marked Latin nominatives ipsa, illa, hii, ille, in 24 cases (48%), while more marked Latin accusatives illa, ipsam, ipsas corespond to Vulgar Latin structures in only 12 cases (24%). With the innovations ea, eo, in 14 cases (28%), I cannot tell whether the Latin source is the nominative or the accusative. Similarly, in Table 2.2, less marked Latin nominatives correspond to Vulgar Latin emergent articles in 12 cases (71%), while more marked accusatives occur in only 5 cases (29%).

3.2 From Latin to Romance

Classical Latin nominative and accusative demonstratives are the source of the definite article in Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages. Table 3 displays demonstrative forms in Classical

Latin.

Insert Table 3

The Classical Latin demonstratives listed in Table 3 are increasingly used as articles in Vulgar Latin from circa 380 to 1150. These changes indicate a change of function of demonstratives, both nominative and accusative, announcing the coming of the article (see Section 4). Table 4 displays demonstratives functioning as definite articles, as they occur in the writings of three Vulgar Latin writers (see Section 2).

Insert Table 4

In table 4a, early (fourth to fifth century) Vulgar Latin demonstratives functioning as definite articles ille, illa, hii, ipsa, as well as ipsam, illa, ipsa, correspond to Classical Latin nominative ille, illa, hi, ipsa and accusatives ipsam, illa, ipsa respectively. The forms ipsas, ea, ipsam are used after, rather than before, the noun phrase (e.g. epistolas ipsas 'the letters', ecclesia ea 'the church', epistolam ipsam 'the letter'). In 4b, late (mid-eighth century) Vulgar Latin emergent structures ille,

illi, illa, as well as illos, illas correspond to Classical nominatives ille, illa, illi and accusatives illos, illas respectively. Vulgar Latin demonstratives functioning as definite articles in 4b are consistently used before, rather than after, the noun phrase. In 4c, in a crystallyzed form of Vulgar Latin used in Spain as late as the twelfth century, the forms el, la correspond to Classical Latin nominatives ille, illa. As in 4b, here Vulgar Latin forms are found only before, rather than after, the noun phrase.

In the Romance languages the definite article corresponds to the Vulgar Latin forms in Table 4. Table 5 displays the definite article in Spanish and Portuguese.

Insert Table 5

In 5a the Spanish forms el, la, los, las correspond to Vulgar Latin ille, illa, which in turn correspond to the Classical Latin nominatives ille, illa; as with late varieties of Vulgar Latin (Tables 4b, 4c), these forms are used consistently before the noun phase. In 5b the Portuguese forms o, a seem to correspond to Vulgar Latin innovations ea, eo, which in turn appear to correspond to Latin nominatives and accusatives illa, illum respectively. Notice that Portuguese grammarians (e.g. Nuñes 1945, Williams 1962) trace the Portuguese articles to the Latin accusatives (illum,

illam) exclusively. As with Spanish, however, the definite article in Portuguese is located before, rather than after, the noun phrase. In 5c the Rumanian articles ul, le, ua, a, i correspond to Vulgar latin ille, la, ea, hi, which in turn seem to correspond to Latin ille, illa, hi. In Vulgar Latin, the position of the demonstrative functioning as a definite article, before or after the noun phrase, was a matter of style. Certain authors (e.g. Sylvia) hesitate in placing the demonstrative before or after the noun phrase (see, also, Muller 1970:83-84). At the time of branching out, Spanish and Portuguese chose to place the article before the noun phrase, while Rumanian adopted the opposite strategy--placing the article after the noun phrase.

4 The grammaticalization of the definite article from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese

The development of the definite article from Latin to the Romance languages in this paper provides an example of what Givon (1992:5) terms "secondary grammaticalization" (see, further, Heine et al 1991, Traugott & Heine 1991). The functional range of a grammatical form is extended to cover new contexts. The nature of these changes remains largely unknown. Certain authors (e.g. Harris 1977, Meillet 1926) explain them in general terms such as "weakening", i.e. change of grammatical function. But this is clearly a circular explanation.

Greenberg (1978), Laury (1991, 1992), Lockwood (1968) study the development of the definite article in English, Finnish, and German respectively (see, further, Kirsner's [1977] and Mithun's

[1987] synchronic studies on the function of demonstratives in discourse). In Laury (1991, 1992) the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles is explained in terms of discourse factors. The development of the definite article starts with the focusing function of demonstratives; then, speakers precede with a demonstrative those noun phrases whose referents have a prominent role in discourse, and/or which become accessible (by prior mention) to the hearer; thus, speakers preface with demonstratives, now functioning as articles, noun phrases identifiable to the hearer. The feature of identifiability is associated to the demonstrative which has undergone reanalysis and is grammaticalized as a definite article. The development of the definite article is summarized in Table 6.

Insert Table 6

Table 6 captures the development of the definite article from Latin to Romance. In Sylvia's Peregrinatio ad Loca Santa (fourth or sixth century), certain noun phrases are marked with Latin demonstratives, when the speaker focuses on prominent (i.e. central to the narrative), in this case emotionally charged, and accessible (i.e by prior mention) noun phrases; the number of demonstratives grows when Sylvia describes holy places or critical points in time. Sentences (1)-(10) in Table 7 illustrate Sylvia's use of Latin demonstratives, focusing on prominent (holy) places and objects,

(crucial) points in time, as well as accessible (by prior mention) NPs. These can occur before and after the noun phrase.

Insert Table 7

Holy placess in (i) sentences (1)-(4) in Vulgar Latin are preceded by ille, illa, ipsa, hii, and in (5)-(6) ipsas, ipsam are located after the noun phrase; in (ii), sentences (7)-(8) certain crucial points in time are preceded by ea.

In senteces (9)b-c, in Table 7, the noun fontes ('fountains') is marked with hii; the reason is that fontes is accessible from prior mention (unmarkered noun in sentence (9)a). Similarly, in (10)b-c, the noun ecclesia ('church') is marked by ea and ipsa respectively, since ecclesia is also accessible from prior mention (unmarkered noun in sentence (10)a)

In Chrodegangus' De Vestimenta Clericorum (mid-eighth century), the Latin demonstrative is used as an article, since as with Sylvia's texts (see above), NPs can be prominent and accessible. Certain prominent members of the Church hierarchy, as well as the clothes assigned to them, are preceded by a Latin demonstrative. Certain other NPs are accessible by prior mention. Sentences (1)-(8) in Table 8 illustrate Chrodegangus' use of Latin demonstratives preceding prominent and accessible noun phrases.

Insert Table 8

In sentences (1)-(7) in Table 8, NPs representing prominent members of the Church hierarchy, as well as the clothes assigned to them are preceded by ille, illi, illa, illas, illos. The nouns clerus 'clergy', seniores 'elders', and cappas 'cloaks' are markered with ille, illi, illas respectively in sentences (8)b-c; the reason is that these NPs are accessible from prior mention (See unmarkered nouns cleri, seniores, cappas in sentence (8)a).

In a transaction in real estate described in a Vulgar Latin document written in Spain (twelfth century), the definite article el precedes all accessible noun phrases, which can be identified by the speaker and hearer. Sentences (1)-(2) in Table 9 illustrate the use of these forms in Vulgar Latin.

Insert Table 9

In sentences (1)-(2) in Table 9, Vulgar Latin noun phrases el portal ('the gate'), del palacio ('of the' palace) are accessible, since the piece of real estate being exchanged entails the NPs above. Thus, el ('the') is well on its way to become a definite article in Spanish.

## 5 Summary and conclusions

The development of the definite article from Latin to Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian (as well as other Romance languages) can be thus explained in terms of discourse factors. Using texts in Vulgar Latin covering eighth centuries, I have traced the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles (both nominatives and accusatives, in pre-nominal, as well as post-nominal position) from Latin to Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian. First, as the documents of the fourth to sixth century show, speakers mark with Latin demonstratives those noun phrases whose referents have a prominent role in discourse or are accessible to the speaker and hearer, before, as well as after, the noun phrase; also, as shown by documents from the mid-eighth century, noun phrases which are prominent or accessible to the speaker and hearer are preceded by Latin demonstratives; and finally, as shown by documents from the twelfth century, as well as in the modern Romance languages, the definite article precedes those noun phrases which can be identified by the speaker and/or hearer, regardless of whether they play a prominent role in discourse.

The similarity between demonstratives and articles (synchronically and diachronically) is not coincidental but due to grammaticalization processes whereby old forms acquire new functions. Thus, demonstrative pronouns can also be employed to mark more abstract functions, such as identifiability in articles. As a result, part of the system employed for mapping perceptual space in the real world (e.g. demonstratives in Latin and many other languages) also serves to map space in discourse--

identifiability (e.g. articles in the Romance languages and many other European languages). As we have seen, part of the Latin system of demonstrative pronouns serves to encode Romance articles, like the Vulgar Latin structures hi, ille, illa, ipsa, ipsam, ea, eo, and Spanish el, la, los, las, Portuguese o, a, os, as, and Rumanian ul - le, ua - a, i, le.

I have found no support to the claim made by most Portuguese grammarians (e.g. Nunez 1945, Williams 1962) that the sole source for the definite article in Portuguese is the accusative. Rather, the Portuguese definite articles o, a seem to correspond to Vulgar Latin innovations eo, ea, which in turn appear to correspond to both Latin accusative illum and nominative illa respectively.

Note

* An earlier version of this paper was read at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Los Angeles, California, January 8, 1993. I am grateful to Ana Maria Menendes, C. J. Bailey, and Bill Godfrey for help with the translation of Vulgar Latin documents.

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Table 1
Criteria for establishing correspondences
between Latin demonstratives and Romance articles

(1) Statistical: increase in text frequency

(2) Structural
(i) Phonological weakening: (a) phonetical shortening,
(b) loss of stress
(ii) location: (a) prenominal, (b) postnominal

(3) Functional: (a) prominent, (b) accessible

(4) Naturalness: (a) iconicity, (b) markedness

Table 2
Nominatives and accusatives in Vulgar Latin

Table 2.1
Nominatives, accusatives, and innovations
in Sylvia's Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta
(fourth to sixth century)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominatives | | | |
| fem. sing./neut. pl. | ipsa | 9 | 38 % |
| fem. sing./neut. pl. | illa | 7 | 29 % |
| masc. pl. | hi(i) | 5 | 21 % |
| masc. sing | ille | 3 | 12 % |
| | | 24 | 100 % |
| Accusatives | | | |
| neut. pl. | illa | 7 | 58 % |
| fem. sing. | ipsam | 3 | 25 % |
| fem. pl. | ipsas | 2 | 17 % |
| | | 12 | 100 % |
| Innovations | | | |
| | ea | 8 | 57 % |
| | eo | 6 | 43 % |
| | | 14 | 100 % |
| Breakdown | | | |
| nominatives | | 24 | 48 % |
| accusatives | | 12 | 24 % |
| innovations | | 14 | 28 % |
| | | 50 | 100 % |

Table 2.2
Nominatives and Accusatives
in Chrodegangus' De Vestimenta Clericorum
(mid-eighth century)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominatives | | | |
| fem. sing./neut. pl. | illa | 4 | 33 % |
| masc. sing. | ille | 3 | 25 % |
| masc. pl. | illi | 5 | 42 % |
| | | 12 | 100 % |
| Accusatives | | | |
| fem. pl. | illas | 3 | 60 % |
| masc. pl. | illos | 2 | 40 % |
| | | 5 | 100 % |
| Breakdown | | | |
| nominatives | | 12 | 71 % |
| accusatives | | 5 | 29 % |
| | | 17 | 100 % |

Table 3
Demonstratives in Classical Latin
(Griffin 1992)

| Nominative | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| singular | | | plural | | |
| masc | fem | neut | masc | fem | neut |
| hic | haec | hoc | hi | hae | haec |
| ille | illa | illud | illi | illae | illa |
| iste | ista | istud | isti | istae | ista |
| ipse | ipsa | ipsum | ipsi | ipsae | ipsa |

| Accusative | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| singular | | | plural | | |
| masc | fem | neut | masc | fem | neut |
| illum | illam | illud | illos | illas | illa |
| hunc | hanc | hoc | hos | has | haec |
| istum | istam | istud | istos | istas | ista |
| ipsum | ipsam | ipsum | ipsos | ipsas | ipsa |

Table 4
Demonstratives functioning as articles in Vulgar Latin.

Table 4a
The Emergent Article in
Sylvia's Peregrinatio ad Loca Santa (circa 380-540)

Nominative
hi(i)
ille, illa
ipsa

Accusative
illa
ipsa, ipsam

Innovations
ea, eo

Table 4b
The Emergent Article in
Chrodegangus' De Vestimenta Clericorum (circa 750)

Nominative
ille, illa, illi

Accusative
illos, illas

Table 4c
The Emergent Article in
A transaction in real estate--El Abad de San Millan (circa 1150)

masc. sing. el 'the'

Table 5
The definite article in Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian

Spanish

| singular | | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| masc | fem | masc | fem |
| el | la | los | las |

Portuguese

| singular | | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| masc | fem | masc | fem |
| o | a | os | as |

Rumanian

| singular | | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| masc | fem | masc | fem |
| ul - le | ua - a | i | le |

Table 6
The development of the definite article
(Laury 1992)

In focus > prominent > accessible > identifiable

demonstrative >> definite article

Table 7
The Emergence of the Definite Article
in Sylvia's Peregrinatio ad Loca Santa
(Bernard 1971: 11-136)

Prominent NPs
(i) places and objects
(1) hii fontes, quos uide (...) (p. 102)
The fontains which you see (...) (p. 37)

(2) Illa autem aqua, quam persae auertarent (...) (p.102)
The water which the Persians diverted (...) (p.37)

(3) (...) item legitur ille locus de evangelio (...) (p.123)
then the passage from the Gospel is read (p.62)

(4) Sedens i eadem spelunca, quae in ipsa ecclesia est (p.123)
He sat in the very cave that is in the church (p.61)

(5) Illud etiam satis mihi grato fuit, ut epistolas ipsas sive Aggaripad Dominum (p. 103)
It also gave me the great pleasure to receive (...) the letters of Abgar (p.38)

(6) Quod cum dixisset, tenens manibus levatis epistolam ipsam apertam rex (p. 102)
And when the king had said this, holding up the open letter with uplifted hands (...) (p.36)

(ii) points in time
(7) In ea ergo die et in ea hora, qua auertarent persae aquam (...) (p.102)
On the day and hour in which the Persians diverted the water (...) (p.37)

(8) ac sic pervenitur Ierusolima ea hora, qua incipit homo hominem posse cognoscere, (...) (p.114)
they arrive in Jerusalem about the hour when one man begins to recognise another (...) (p.50)

Accessible NPs
(9)a (...) et ibi erant fontes piscibus pleni (...) (pp.101-102)
and there were fountains full of fish (p.37)

(9)b Illud etiam retulit sanctus episcopus eo quod hii fontes ubi erumperunt ante sic fuerit campus intra civitatem, subiacens palatio Aggari (p.103, line 7)
that place were the fountains burst forth was formerly a level space inside the city lying under the palace of King Abgar (p.37)

(9)c Sed postmodum quam hii fontes in eo loco eruperunt (p.103, line 35)
but after the fountains had bust forth in this place (p.37)

(10)a Hora prima noctis ommes in ecclesia quae est in Eleona, convenimus, quoniam maximus labor nobis instat hodie nocte ista (p.122, line 32)
At the first hour of the night let us all meet at the church in Olivet, for our greatest labour presses on us on the night of this day (p. 161)

(10)b (...) quia statim, ut manducaverint, omnes vadent in Eleona in ecclesia ea, in qua (...) (p.123, line 5)
for as soon as they have eaten they all go up to Olivet to that church in which (...) (p.161)

(10)c Sedens in eadem spelunca, quae in ipsa ecclesia est (p.123, line 11)
He sat in the very cave which is in the church (p.161)

Table 8
The Emergence of the Definite Article
in Chrodegangus' De Vestimenta Clericorum
(Muller & Taylor 1932: 243-244)

Prominent NPs

(i) The hierarchy of the Church

(1) (...) quod ille episcopus annis singulis ad illum clerum reddere consuevit (...) (p.244)
(...) the bishop in each year was accustomed to return the cleric (...)

(2) (...) ille alius clerus unus quisque singulos camisiles autem illi presbytieri et diaconi annis singulis binos (p.244)
(...) let the other cleric, each one receive vestments that the priest and deacon have every two years.

(3) illi diaconi VII qua in corum consistunt (...) (p.244)
The seven deacons who take their places sit together in the choir (...)

(4) illi seniores annis singulis reddunt accipiant(...) (p.243)
the cloaks that the elders in every year receive (...)

(ii) Clergy's clothes

(5) illos camisiles viginti dies post pascha accipiant (...) (p.244)
Let them receive the vestments twenty days after Easter (...)

(6) (...) et illo calciatico, quod ille episcopus annis singulis ad illum clerum reddere consuevit (p.244)
(...) and the footwear which the bishop usually gives to the priest every year (...)

(7) et illas cappas et illos sarciles, et illa calceamenta de illos teloneos superius nominatos (...) (p.244)
and the capes and the pieces of cloth, and the footwear from the toll-houses mentioned above (...)

Accessible NPs

(8)a (...) illa media pars cleri qui seniores fuerint annis singulis accipiant cappas novas (...) (p.243, line 1)
(...) Let the middle part of the clergy who are the elders receive the new cloaks every year (...)

(8)b ille alius clerus unusquisque singulos camisiles autem illi presbytieri et diaconi annis binos (p.244)
(...) Let the other cleric, each one receive vestments that the priest and the deacon have every two years

(8)c (...) et illi seniores illas cappas quas reddere debent non commutent (p.243, line 5)
(...) and the elders do not exchange the cloaks which they should return.

Table 9
The Emergence of the Definite Article
in A Spanish Document (twelfth century):
A transaction in real estate
(Muller & Taylor 1932: 258)

(1) z ke nos aiudes fer el portal del palacio
and you help us to make the gate of the palace

(2) z nos damus tibi in nostro corral del palacio
and we give you in our yard of the palace